

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 EA-06 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-01 INR-05

L-02 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

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FM AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0998

INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

USMISSION NATO

USLO PEKING

AMCONSUL HONG KONG

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BUCHAREST 5470

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, PFOR, RO

SUBJECT: 11TH PARTY CONGRESS: CEAUSESCU'S KEYNOTE SPEECH

REF: BUCHAREST 5452

1. SUMMARY: CEAUSESCU'S REPORT TO 11TH PARTY CONGRESS GENERALLY FOLLOWED ESTABLISHED ROMANIAN POLICY LINES OF FIRMNESS AT HOME AND INDEPENDENCE ABROAD WITH FURTHER MOVEMENT TOWARD NON-ALIGNED CREDO AND PALESTINIANS IN PARTICULAR. UNDERLYING IF MUTED DIFFERENCES WITH MOSCOW WERE MOST CLEARLY SHOWN IN IMPLICIT CRITICISM OF CEMA PRACTICES AND REAFFIRMATION OF RCP POSITION IN INTER-COMMUNIST RELATIONS. INTERNALLY, CEAUSESCU UPPED INVESTMENT IN AGRICULTURE AND AD-LIBBED HIS
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IRRITATION WITH RESISTANCE TO POST-1971 IDEOLOGICAL LINE.

END SUMMARY.

2. CEAUSESCU'S FIRST-DAY 11TH PARTY CONGRESS REPORT WAS MARKED BY REVIEW OF INTERNATIONAL AND DOMESTIC ISSUES SINCE LAST PARTY CONGRESS IN 1969 AND GENERALLY FOLLOWED ESTABLISHED ROMANIAN POLICY LINES. THIS MESSAGE AMPLIFIES INITIAL REACTION (REFTEL).

3. ONE NOTABLE DIFFERENCE FROM CEAUSESCU'S 1969 REPORT WAS EXPANDED ATTENTION TO ROMANIA'S INVOLVEMENT WITH THE THIRD WORLD. HE ELABORATED AT LENGTH ON GOR-PROMOTED "NEW WORLD ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL ORDER" WHICH INCORPORATES MANY ELEMENTS OF THE NON-ALIGNED CREDO. ALSO, HIS ATTENTION TO RELATIONS WITH ARAB STATES AND HIS MOST FORTHCOMING FORMULA YET TOWARD THE PALESTINIANS (REFTEL) REFLECTS THE GROWING GOR TILT EVIDENT IN PAST YEAR AS ARAB POWER HAS GROWN.

4. AS USUAL, CEAUSESCU POLITELY TOOK PAINS TO AVOID OUTWARD FRICTION WITH MOSCOW YET DID NOT CONCEAL UNDERLYING DIFFERENCES. LINE WAS FIRM IN INTER-COMMUNIST RELATIONS (REFTEL). MILITARY COOPERATION WITH WARSAW PACT WAS CAST IN TERMS OF NATIONAL ARMIES ONLY AND PAIRED AS USUAL TO COOPERATION ALSO WITH "ALL" SOCIALIST COUNTRIES (READ CHINA AND YUGOSLAVIA) PLUS "OTHER FRIENDLY STATES". ROMANIAN EMPHASIS ON "INTENSIFYING THE STRUGGLE TO DISMANTLE MILITARY BLOCS" AND "STRENGTHENING THE POLITICAL SIDE OF THE WARSAW TREATY" (SO AS TO DOWNGRADE MILITARY SIDE) WAS MADE EXPLICIT. CEAUSESCU'S REFERENCE TO "WHOLE PEOPLE" BEING INVOLVED IN COUNTRY'S DEFENSE GOT CONSIDERABLE AMOUNT OF APPLAUSE.

5. USUAL ROMANIAN UPBEAT TREATMENT OF EUROPEAN SECURITY AND BALKAN COOPERATION WAS DARKENED SOMEWHAT BY OFF-KEY STRESS ON "GRAVE DANGERS TO PEACE" POSED BY UNPRECEDENTED CONCENTRATION OF MILITARY FORCES IN EUROPE REQUIRING "INTENSIFIED POLITICAL AND DIPLOMATIC ACTIVITY" THERE.

6. ON CEMA, SELF-INTERESTED ROMANIAN LINE OF SELECTIVE COOPERATION CAME THROUGH CLEARLY. CEAUSESCU AGAIN PLUGGED "EQUALIZATION" OF DEVELOPMENT, IMPLYING NEED FOR BETTER BREAK FOR SUCH
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"DEVELOPING" PARTNERS AS ROMANIA. HE WARNED THAT "JUST, EQUITABLE" CEMA PRICING, WHILE TAKING ACCOUNT OF "OBJECTIVE ECONOMIC LAWS AND WORLD TRENDS", SHOULD ALSO AVOID INCREASES THROUGH "SPECULATIVE PHENOMENA", SEEMINGLY ANTICIPATING SOVIETS ASKING CEMA MEMBERS TO PAY MORE FOR BASIC RAW MATERIALS. HE ALSO URGED "ADVANTAGEOUS" CEMA PRICES FOR AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS AND, IN SLAP AT SOVIET DOMINANCE, "INTENSIFICATION OF THE DEMOCRATIC CHARACTER OF CEMA ORGANS".

7. DEVELOPING THEME OF COLLABORATION WITH SPECTRUM OF NON-COMMUNIST "PROGRESSIVE" FORCES AS NECESSARY PRESENT-DAY COROLLARY TO COMMUNIST UNITY, CEAUSESCU URGED NOT ONLY COOPERATION BUT "GENUINE HISTORIC RECONCILIATION" BETWEEN COMMUNIST AND SOCIALIST PARTIES, SEEMINGLY AS STEP IN GOR'S OVERALL STRATEGY TO CALL INTO PLAY WHATEVER POLITICAL FORCES MAY POSSIBLY DILUTE SOVIET POLITICAL HEGEMONY.

8. WHILE CEAUSESCU USED "CRISIS OF CAPITALIST SYSTEM" IN EXPLAINING WORLD ECONOMIC CRISIS, THIS SECTION WAS NEVERTHELESS PERHAPS SOFTER ON CAPITALISM THAN 1969 SPEECH (THEN CALLED "PRINCIPAL ENEMY OF CIVILIZATION'S PROGRESS") AND MAIN THEME WAS PLEA FOR AVOIDANCE OF WAR AND FOR PEACEFUL SOLUTIONS. ALLEGED WEAKNESS OF CAPITALISM IS OF COURSE CONVENIENT ARGUMENT AGAINST SOVIET ATTEMPTS TO "COORDINATE" ROMANIA CLOSER IN WARSAW PACT'S AND SOCIALIST COMMUNITY'S EMBRACE.

9. ON THE INTERNAL SIDE, CEAUSESCU MADE EFFORT TO PERSUADE ROMANIAN CONSUMER THINGS ARE GETTING BETTER, BUT AT SAME TIME AGAIN SIGNED FULL-STEAM-AHEAD ON INDUSTRIALIZATION ALBEIT AT SLIGHTLY LOWER GROWTH RATE THAN PRESENT BUT WITH ACCUMULATION (REINVESTMENT) RATE HELD AT 33-34 PERCENT. HIS IDEA THAT CONSUMER REQUIREMENTS WILL BE "SCIENTIFICALLY DETERMINED" AND EXCLUSION OF "CONSUMPTION FOR CONSUMPTION'S SAKE" AND "SMALL-BOURGEOIS EXTRAVAGANCE" EVIDENTLY PORTENDS PLANNED RELATIVE CONSUMER AUSTERITY FOR SOME TIME, DESPITE REFERENCES TO INCREASED PRODUCTION FOR SUCH CURRENTLY SHORT ITEMS AS SUGAR AND COOKING OIL. SOMEWHAT UNUSUAL DETAILED MENTION OF PLANS TO EXPAND OUTPUT OF LATTER ITEMS WAS NO DOUBT MEANT TO SCOTCH SERIOUS SUPPLY AND HOARDING PROBLEM EVIDENT THIS FALL.

10. TREND TO REDUCE DEPENDENCE ON OUTSIDE SOURCES, PARTICULARLY
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SOVIETS, FOR ENERGY-RAW MATERIALS WAS SHOWN BY GOAL OF PRODUCING AT LEAST 50 PERCENT OF NECESSARY COKING COAL DOMESTICALLY.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 BUCHAREST 5470

11. COMPARED WITH 1969, CEAUSESCU'S EMPHASIS PERHAPS TILTED SOMEWHAT MORE TOWARD LAW, ORDER, AND DISCIPLINE BUT USUAL COMMITMENT TO "SOCIALIST LEGALITY" WAS STILL UNDERLINED. "STRICT EYE" WILL BE KEPT ON "HOSTILE ELEMENTS" WHO ATTACK "PUBLIC PROPERTY" AND "REVOLUTIONARY GAINS". CEAUSESCU CALLED FOR "EVER CLOSER COLLABORATION" BETWEEN MINISTRY OF INTERIOR ORGANS AND "WORKING MASSES" AND "ACTIVE PARTICIPATION OF CITIZENS" WITHOUT YET DETAILING MACHINERY FOR THIS.

12. WHILE CONTENT OF CEAUSESCU'S PREPARED REMARKS ON CULTURE, MORE CONSERVATIVE THAN IN 1969, HEWED CLOSELY TO PARTY PROGRAM'S, HIS EVIDENT CONCERN AND PASSION WITH ISSUE LED HIM INTO SEVERAL EMPHATIC BUT CONTRADICTORY AD-LIB DIGRESSIONS; HIS EXASPERATED TONE AUGURED POORLY FOR THE ALREADY STULTIFIED
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CULTURAL CLIMATE. HE CALLED FOR GREATER PARTY CC ROLE IN CULTURAL-EDUCATIONAL FIELD AND OMITTED HIS 1969 SPEECH'S REFERENCE TO STIMULATION OF CREATIVE DEBATE AND EXCHANGES OF OPINION AMONG SCIENTIFIC RESEARCHERS. SLAPPING ROSTRUM, HE UNDERLINED NEED FOR "ROBUST", OPTIMISTIC, UPLIFT ART IN TUNE WITH "NEW MAN" AND "NEW HUMANISM" AND FOR VOLUNTARY MILITANCY AND WAS OBVIOUSLY PERPLEXED AT FAILURE SO FAR TO

STIMULATE THIS. HE EXTEMPORANEOUSLY CRITICIZED OVER-SPECIALIZATION IN SOCIAL SCIENCES AND NOT ENOUGH ATTENTION TO COMMUNIST IDEOLOGY, CALLED ON CRITICS TO STOP "TOSSING ROSES" AT NEGATIVE ARTISTIC ASPECTS, AND EVEN BETRAYED WORRY THAT PARTY MIGHT NOT ALWAYS BE "ETERNALLY REVOLUTIONARY". BUT THEN, STILL AD-LIBBING, HE HARKED BACK TO 9TH CONGRESS (1965) -- BEFORE INTELLIGENTIA'S ESTRANGEMENT AND DISAPPOINTMENT OF 1971-74 -- APPEALING TO INTELLECTUALS TO PUT CREATIVE TALENTS "IN SERVICE OF PEOPLE" IN "WIDEST VARIETY OF FORMS". HE PASSED OVER NEED (IN 1969 SPEECH) TO FOSTER COMBATIVE ATTITUDE AGAINST FOREIGN IDEOLOGICAL INFLUENCES, IN MARKED CONTRAST TO CURRENT SOVIET LINE.

13. CEAUSESCU CLOSED WITH PRAISE OF PARTY PROGRAM, DESCRIBING IT AS SYNTHESIS OF 2,000 YEAR LIFE AND STRUGGLE OF ROMANIAN PEOPLE, AND OF RCP'S ROLE AND HISTORY -- AN EXPRESSION OF CREATIVE MARXISM IN ROMANIA. PROGRAM WAS ALSO OF SIGNIFICANCE INTERNATIONALLY AT A TIME WHEN "PEOPLES EVERYWHERE WERE INCREASINGLY ASSERTING THEIR WILL TO BE MASTER OF THEIR OWN DESTINY".
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